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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 SS-15 SP-02 INR-07 INRE-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4953

FOR EUR/PRM

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG
SUBJECT: CSCE: DISCUSSION OF STAGE III TIMING AT JUNE 27
COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING

REF: GENEVA 4888

1. DEBATE AT THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING ON JUNE 27 WAS CONCERNED PRIMARILY WITH THE OLD QUESTION OF THE CHICKEN AND THE EGG. WARSAW PACT DELEGATIONS (EXCEPT ROMANIA) ARGUED ONE AFTER THE OTHER THAT STAGE II DELIBERATIONS HAD REACHED A POINT WHERE AGREEMENT ON A SPECIFIC DATE FOR STAGE III WAS THE ONLY WAY OF ACHIEVING SOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS IN TIME TO MAKE AJULY SUMMIT POSSIBLE. THE NATO ALLIES AND, INCREASINGLY, SMALLER COUNTRIES WITH SPECIAL CONCERNS, MAINTAINED THAT AGREEMENT ON A DATE WOULD BE POSSIBLE ONLY AFTER PROGRESS ON OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED.

2. DISCUSSION OF STAGE III TIMING MOVED BACK AND FORTH
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FOR MOST OF THE TWO AND ONE HALF HOUR SESSION. TEMPERS

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OFTEN BECAME SHORT AND THERE WAS NO VISIBLE NARROWING
OF THE GAP BETWEEN OPPOSING POSITIONS. HOWEVER, THE
MEETING DID FEATURE DETERMINATION BY ALL SPEAKERS TO
ACCELERATE THE PACE OF WORK AND RESULTED IN AGREEMENT
ON SEVERAL CONCRETE STEPS TO THIS END. A FULL SERIES
OF MEETINGS HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR SATURDAY, JUNE 28 AND
ADDITIONAL SESSIONS HAVE BEEN PLANNED FOR NEXT WEEK. A
FURTHER MEETING OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE WAS ALSO
SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY, JUNE 30, TO CONTINUE CONSIDERATION
OF POSSIBLE DATE FOR STAGE III.

3. THE MOST HEATED PRESENTATION WAS MADE BY THE SOVIET
DELEGATION CHIEF WHO WAS CLEARLY UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO
PUSH HARD FOR AGREEMENT ON A SPECIFIC DATE. HE CHIDED
DELEGATES FOR AGREEING IN PRINCIPLE TO A JULY MEETING
WHILE BEING UNWILLING TO TAKE A DECISION ON A SPECIFIC
DATE. HE SAID HE WAS ASTONISHED THAT SO MANY DELEGATIONS
CONTINUED TO PLAY A "GAME OF CHANCE", HOPING TO USE RE-
FUSAL TO AGREE ON A DATE AS A MEANS OF SQUEEZING OUT FURTHER
CONCESSIONS AT THE LAST MINUTE. THE SOVIET DELEGATION
CHIEF ASSURED HIS COLLEAGUES THAT SUCH TACTICS WOULD
NOT BE SUCCESSFUL, CLAIMING THAT FOR ITS PART THE
SOVIET DELEGATION HAD REACHED THE LIMITS OF ITS IN-
STRUCTIONS. THERE WOULD BE NO MORE "ONE-SIDED CON-
CESSIONS" FROM THE SOVIET SIDE. REFERRING TO "UNILATERAL,
BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL" EXPRESSIONS OF WILLINGNESS
BY WESTERN POLITICAL LEADERS TO HOLD A JULY SUMMIT,
THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE CONCLUDED BY CALLING FOR THE
GENEVA DELEGATES TO BRING THEIR POSITIONS IN LINE
WITH THOSE OF THEIR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND TO AGREE
IMMEDIATELY ON A DATE DURING THE LAST 10 DAYS OF
JULY FOR THE STAGE III SUMMIT.

4. OTHER PRESENTATIONS GENERALLY FOLLOWED THE PATTERN
OF THE JUNE 26 DISCUSSION OF THE TIMING QUESTION
(REFTEL). AS IN THE PREVIOUS SESSION, REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE SMALLER COUNTRIES WITH SPECIAL CONCERNS PLACED
ON THE RECORD THEIR DETERMINATION NOT TO BE STAMPEDED INTO
AGREEMENT ON A DATE. SPEAKERS IN THIS CATEGORY AT THE
JUNE 27 MEETING INCLUDED THE ROMANIAN, DUTCH, TURKISH,
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MALTESE AND LIECHTENSTEIN REPRESENTATIVES. IN CON-
TRAST, THE YUGOSLAV AND NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVES
MADE CLEAR THEIR SUPPORT OF JULY 28 AS THE STAGE III
DATE.

5. COMMENT: SOVIET TACTICS ARE CLEARLY TO PUSH UN-
RELENTINGLY FOR A DECISION ON A DATE FOR STAGE III,
WHILE REMAINING RELATIVELY UNBENDING IN MATTERS OF

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SUBSTANCE. HOWEVER,WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CBMS, THE NUMBER OF MAJOR EAST-WEST ISSUES IS NOW RELATIVELY SMALL. MORE DIFFICULT ARE THE SPECIAL CONCERNS OF SUCH DELEGATIONS AS THE TURKS, WHO SEEM DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN THEIR POSITIONS UNTIL THE VERY END. THE SOVIET APPROACH APPEARS TO BE AIMED AT CREATING A MEMENTUM IN FAVOR OF A SPECIFIC DATE WHICH THESE COUNTRIES WILL FIND IMPOSSIBLE TO RESIST. OUR JUDGMENT CONTINUES TO BE THAT SUCH MOMENTUM WILL DE-VELOP AND THAT A DECISION ON STAGE III TIMING WILL BEGIN TO EMERGE EARLY NEXT WEEK.

6 DEPUTY SOVIET DELEGATION CHIEF TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT SOVIETS WOULD SEEK SOME FORM OF ROLL CALL ON MONDAY, JUNE 30, IN ORDER TO ISOLATE THOSE DELEGATIONS WHO OPPOSE SETTING A FIRM DATE FOR STAGE III. SOVIETS EVIDENTLY PLAN TO GO THROUGH THIS ROLL CALL DAILY OR TWICE DAILY UNTIL CONSENSUS IS REACHED. IN SUCH A SITUATION WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE THAT WE BE PROVIDED WITH INSTRUCTIONS REQUESTED PARA 5 OF GENEVA 4864 BY OPENING OF BUSINESS JUNE 30, FOR OUR USE AT THE APPROPRIATE MOMENT. DALE

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